1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

795 175 [176] 175 793

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Song No. IX.

A.

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IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod
5. dgospai skudon sala yod
6. yshungyul 'adiru cila byon.

IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. Then, where will you go to?
4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. For whose sake do you come?
6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.

The Nyopas say:—

IX. B. 1. yong da ngasha sharphyogs bde-chen glingnas yongs.
2. 'agro da ngasha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro
3. sdodpai bdelce de sa ynas 'adina yod
4. dgospai skudon ni yshungyul 'adina yod,
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.

IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sala* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. **urgyan**, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise.**' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun,

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a **new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kêsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern Lôka, pâla-Donyodgrubpa could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kêsar-Myths we learn, that Kêsar, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called Dongrub, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the Lôkapâla of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? Donyodgrubpa means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name Dongrub was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other Lôkapâlas. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero Kêsar, before his entering into action, is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kêsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v srednevêkovom jevropejskom eposê*. Moskau. 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Cometay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisnt; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápér; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Cospetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpār; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaluco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Narsinga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the husbands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadulterated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

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of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

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eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The government posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

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the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

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671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
685 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[178] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
• 178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
548 be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

215b

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three genera-
152 tions back. I have never found a case of its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
178 andry is an institutionalized social system, they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
178 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
428 the young men were getting more and more immoral. I suppose he was quite right, and as I was interested to hear his point of view we had quite a conversation about it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we managed to remain wealthy without being polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in Tibet we haven't enough to go around and as we don't want to divide the property up we have to be polyandrous so that we inherit the property without its being divided. But how do you Europeans do it? How do you remain wealthy by being monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
428 was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
829 now that I think of it, it is probably true that in Europe we do things in a different way. When we marry, each man goes off with his wife and they try to fend for themselves, build up their own family and get their own source of revenue. That is the way we do it. There is enough wealth to go around to found other families." "Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I have noticed among the Tibetans who have become Moslems that this is also the case. They cease being polyandrous, and because of that they then divide up the property. There is not enough to go around. The eldest brother usually gets it and the youngest brothers have to go off with their wives elsewhere to find some work. I have also noticed here that nearly all the Mohammedan families seem to go to Burma and work in the ruby mines there. That is obviously for the same reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment and looked at me in a pensive fashion until suddenly he said, "Now I understand why you Europeans come here. That is why you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [594] [988] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 [795] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson.

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more".

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*.

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ed.]

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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562 778 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his [178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās [647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats [788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the